A REPLY

To the

Second PART of the

CHARACTER

OF A

POPISH SUCCESSOR.

By *Roger L'Estrange.*

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A Reply to the Second Part of the *Character of a Popish Successor.*

WHoever duely considers the Bent, and the Spirit of the *Two Characters* here in question, will easily Discern that the *Exclusion* of the Duke of *York*, is the Least part of the Authours, either *Hope*, or *Pretension*. For there are but Two ways to bring it about, *viz.* An *Act of Parliament*, or a *Rebellion*. As to the Former, the King hath over and over Declared himself against it; and most Expressly in his Late Declaration, (*Apr.* 8. 1681. *P.* 7.) in These words, (speaking of a Total Exclusion) [*A Point, that in our own Royall Judgment, so nearly concern'd us, both in Honour, Justice, and Conscience, that we could never consent to it.*] Now with what face shall any Subject Presume to Importune his Soveraign; or how can he Expect, by a Pamphlet, to Gain upon him, to the Violation of all these Duties? And yet we see the Point pursued, though no way in the world to be Effected but by a Sedition: which, by the method taken, a body would suspect to be the Business too; for the Dint of the Discourse strikes altogether that way. 'Tis the *Popish Successor* I must Confess that makes the *Report*; and the Wind drives the *Smoak* in the face of the *Duke*; but 'tis the *King* all this while that receives the *Shot*. As for Example: He takes ye the *Treachery* of a *Wolf*, the *Fiercenes* of a *Tyger*, the *Ingratitude* of a *Pardon'd Traytor*; and here's, in short, the Composition of his *Character* of a *Popish Successor*; with *Slavery* and Damnation at his Heels. This Frightfull Figure puts the People naturally upon That Question, *Act.* 16. 30. *What must we do to be Sav'd?* Why truly (says the *Character*) the King has lost himself Strangely with sticking to his Brother. [*His Peoples Knees are almost as Stubborn, as their Petitions and Prayers have been Ineffectuall.* (*And I am affraid there are too many, who in Detestation of that One* Gangreen'd Branch of Royalty, *can scarce forbear* (*how Undutifully soever*) *to Murmur, and Revile, even at that Imperial Root that Cherishes it.* Pa. 10. Part 1.] Insomuch that [*in Studying to Prevent Tyranny, they grow Jealous of* Monarchy, &c.

And so far from Supplying the Real and most Pressing Necessityes of his *Majesty, that they are rather well pleas'd, and Triumph, in his Greatest Wants: and that perhaps; when his Glory, nay possibly when his* nearest Safety *calls for their Assistance.* P. 11.]

The Writer of the Character has told the People a Heavy Tale here, but what if their *Knees will not bend?* what if there be *Murmurings* and *Revilings*; and not one farthing of mony to be gotten? Are we ever the nearer the *Disinheriting* of a *Popish Successor*, for all this? No; But if the King will not yield, the *Character* will shew you a Trick for that too. The *Lords Anointed?* [I *would ask* (says he) *what this LORDS ANOINTED Is? And who 'tis is our* Native Soveraign? *When instead of being* Free Subjects, Pope *and* Tyranny *shall rule over us, and* we *are made* Slaves *and* Papists? *P.* 20.] *And then below*: [*What's a* Passive Obedi*ence, to a King of* England? *Alas! That Bugbear,* Passive Obedience, *is a* Notion *crept into the World, and most* Zealously, *and perhaps as* Ignorantly *Defended* [Kings *were made for the* People, *and not the* People *for the* King *P.* 21.] And yet once again. [*If now at last Popery must, and shall come in*; (*as by Law it cannot*) *and consequently must be restor'd by* Arbitrary Power: *If a* new Monarchy, *then a* new Conquest; *and if a* Conquest, *Heaven forbid we should be Subdu'd like less then* Englishmen; *or be Debarr'd the Common Right of All Nations, which is, to* Resist, *and* Repell *any* Invader, *if we can* P. 21.] Now to run it short (he might e'en as well have told us in plain Terms; *Look to your Selves my Masters*; *Here's a* Popish Successor *coming on that will send yeu all to the Devil. Ye have the whole Nation on your side, Never trouble your heads about the* King. What's a *KING? What is this* LORDS ANOINTED? *Is he not* Our Servant? *May not we* Resist *him if he* Invade *us*? Passive Obedience *is a* Bugbear and does not concern us here in *England, Wherefore let us Maintain our* Rights, *or fall like* Englishmen. If This be not a Sedition, Contriv'd, Chalk'd out, and Justified. I do not know what Is.

To this *Character of a Popish Successor, &c.* I wrote a *Reply*, Entitled, *The Character of a Papist in Masquerade*; to which the Author of the *First Character* has now put out a *Rejoynder*, which he calls, *The Character of a Popish Successor Complete: In Defence of the* First Part; *against* Two Answers, One *Written by M.* L'Estrange, call'd *The Papist in Masquerade*, &c. *And* Another, *by an unknown hand.*

Upon

Upon a Thorough Examination of this Piece, I find it to be only a *Pompous, Wordy* Thing, and wholly made up of *Shifts*, and *Suppositions*; without so much as *one Argument*. either *Offer'd*, or *Answer'd*, upon the Stress of the Question: so that I shall; both for the Readers ease, and my own, pass over the Ramble of his Discourse, and keep my self as close as I can to the Subject in hand.

It is the main Scope of his Design, first, to shew the People a *Popish Successor*, in Imagination, as *Black* and *Hideous* as the *Devil* and *Malice* can *Paint* him. 2. to set forth the *Absolute Necessity* of Barring, and Precluding such a Successor, upon pain of *Bondage*, and *Damnation*. And 3. Since the King will not be wrought upon, against his Brother; To teach his Subjects a way of doing it by themselves; by *Absolving* them in this Particular Case from the Common Tyes of *Christianity*, *Prudence*, and *Allegeance*.

To These Three General Heads, I oppos'd Certain Previous Considerations, which he takes very little notice of in his Reflections upon my Papers, though the whole sum of this Controversie does most undeniably depend upon the Resolving of those Points. But of this hereafter. As to the rest, I followed my Parallel, betwixt the *Bare-fac'd Jesuits*, and the *Disguis'd*; betwixt the Proceedings of *One and Forty*, and of *Eighty One*, as a necessary Precaution, that under the Pretence of *Abolishing* the *NAME* of Popery, we might not *Establish* the *DOCTRINE* of it.

In the first Page of the *Preface*, it is observed upon *L'Estranges Character*, that [*the sole Drift of his Book was not in the least to Expose Popery any further, then to make the Fanatical and Jesuitical Principles agree*, &c.]

Well! and what can expose *Popery* further then to prove it *Fanaticism*; and to Range the *Papists* with the *Smiters of their Fellow-servants*, (Matth.24.49.) and according to that Dreadful Sentence, (*Matth.* 24.51.) to appoint *Jesuits* their Portion with the *Hypocrites?*

Take his Opinion (says the Character) *abstracted from that Design, and his whole Book has no other aim, but to make All our Dangers of Popery, and a Popish Successor; and all the whole Plot against the King, Religion, and Government* (*to use his own Phrase*, P.69.) *but* a Painted Lion upon a Wall; *and the Opposers of those Dangers* a reall Bed of Vipers.

Is

Is *L'Estrange* then so great a *Friend* to the *Fanaticks*, that he *Acquits* the *Papists*, in making them *Both Criminals alike?* Or how will it hang together, that under the Notion only of *Two sorts* of *Jesuits*, and *Both equally Dangerous*, the *One* shall be but a *Painted Lyon*, and the *Other a Reall Bed of Vipers?* Now over and above this Contradiction imply'd, how many *Impious*, *Impudent*, *False*, and *Non-sensicall* Fellows should I have been, if I had dealt but half so disingenuously with the *Character-maker* as he has done with me. Take notice first, how he has Impos'd upon me in misapplying the Citation, for my Words are these, *P.69. It were no Ill Embleme of the Original of our Late Troubles, to fancy a man in a fright, and Leaping from a* Painted Lyon *upon a Wall, into a* Bed of Vipers. From hence does he infer my disbelief of the Plot, and pronounces upon me, as one that makes it his business to turn All the *Dangers* of *Popery*, and a *Popish Successor* into a meer mockery: when yet my Reply upon his first *Character*, speaks the clear contrary [*So far am I from undertaking to dispute the danger of a* Popish Successor, *that I'le compound the matter with him before-hand, and take all his suppositions of Difficulties and Hazzards for Granted*:] And then again in the same Page [*I am as much against the Principles and Practises of the Church of* Rome (*wherein the Church of* England *hath departed from that Communion*) *as any man living that keeps himself within the compass of* Christian Charity, Humanity, *and* Good Manners: *and so far I shall heartily joyn with the Compiler of the Character, by a Previous* Concession *of the* Inconveniences (*as I have said already*) *that may arrive by reason of that Religion.* Is this fair dealing or no? But you shall see now how he Rivets it.

You must allow him (says he) *this* Great Fundamental; *that all the Sticklers against* Popery, *and a* Popish Successor *are* Fanaticks, *and that* all Fanaticks *hate both the* King *and* Kingly Government, *and are Tooth and Nail downright* Republicans. *Upon this Basis his whole Fabrick stands*, Ibid.

The Authour has put a thing in my Head now, I should not have thought of, and truly I could find in my heart to give him his asking. For I would Distinguish betwixt the *Litigious Humour* of *Stickling* against Popery, as the *Fanaticks* do, and the *Modest Judicious* way of *opposing* it, after the manner of the Church of *England*: a *Stickler*, in this case, being only a Waspish kind of *Common Barreter* in *Religion*. But however, he must be a *Stickler* against

against the Communion of the *English Church*, as well as against that of the Church of *Rome*, to be a *Fanatick* in *my opinion*: In which case, his *Zeal*, on the *One* hand, does not at all Excuse his *Schism* on the *Other*. And to Gratifie him yet further, in his other Point; let him name what sort of *Dissenters* he pleases, and let me try if I cannot shew him *Anti-Monarchical Principles*; and *Positions* Destructive both of *Church* and *State*, in the *Avow'd Writings* of the most *Eminent* of the *Party*.

When he has *Handy-dandy'd* the *Character*, and *L'Estrange*, Just as *Puncinello* plays his *Puppets*, and given which of them the better on't he pleases; he sets up a *Great Fundamental* for me; and runs away with it for a matter of a Page and a half, calling Heaven and Earth to give Evidence to the truth of a Plot, which no Mortal denyes; and winds up at last in the Definition of a Fanatick of these Times.

He that values the Safety of himself and his Posterity; he that thinks he has an Estate, and Liberty worth Preserving; a Country worth Saving; a Religion worth defending; and indeed a God worth Serving, is a FANATICK. Pref. P. 3.

I shall Appeal to the World now, which is the *True Fanatick*, His, or Mine.

He that places the safety of Himself and his Posterity in breaking the Laws, both of God and man; He that makes his Liberty a Cloak for Maliciousness; He that Cryes, *Give the King no Money*, when his Country is ready to be Swallow'd up; and Triumphs in his Majestys Greatest Wants. (Char. Part. 1. Pa. 11.) when his *Glory*, nay his NEAREST SAFETY Calls for Assistance; He that Contends for *Schism* to the Overthrow of *Religion*, and calls *Murthering* of *Kings*, and *Subverting* of *Governments*, [*doing God good service*] *He* is a *Fanatick*.

He Proceeds in his Preface, to the Invalidating of my *Parallel*, betwixt *Forty One* and *Eighty*; and upon my saying, that the *very Sound of* Popery *did the business against the Last King, as well* without *a* Ground, *as* with *it*; [*What's all this* (*says he*) *but to tell us, because a* Bugbear *Frighted us* once, *therefore a* Real Fiend *must not* Fright *us* now? *Because a* Judas *once* Kiss'd *and* Betray'd, *and a* Joab Embrac'd *and* stabb'd, *therefore no man must ever* Kiss *and* Embrace *without a* Treacherous *and* Murtherous Intention?

And what's all this; (say I) but to tell us, on the Other side, that though the *Bugbear* of *Forty One* prov'd a *Reall Friend* to us, we

we are yet to take the *same Fiend again*, in *Eighty One* for a *Bugbear*? And so for *Judas* and *Joab*, If the *Same Judas*, kisses again, and with the *Same Words* in his Mouth too, why may we not suspect the *Same Intentions*? And likewise if the *Same Joab* Embraces again, and the Old Ponyard be found about him still, (the *Deposing Maxims* of *Forty One*, which is the very Case) Have we not Reason then to believe that he has *Murder* in his *Heart*? And Hear him once again now.

Because a Knot of Achitophels *once* Pretended *Grievances where* none was, *to accomplish their own Wicked Purposes, therefore no Subject shall, or may Petition or Vote, though in a* Legall, Parliamentary way, *for the Redress of the Greatest Grievance in Nature, and that in the Plainest and most Imminent Exigence of a Nation*, &c. Pref. Pag. 3.

My Answer must be still the same; that the very *same Achitophells*, Pretending the very *same Grievances*, and Proceeding by the very *same Methods* have probably the very *same Wicked Designs* and *Purposes*. And now to that which follows; Bear me Wittness Good People, that I meddle with neither *Votes*, nor *Petitions*, but only with Seditious *Libells* that carry the *name* of *Petitions*: as who should say [*Take notice*, (my Countrymen) the King is wholly carry'd away by *Jesuitical Councills*, *May it Please your Majesty to Call a Parliament*. His Majesty will never suffer this *Plot* to be search'd to the *Bottom*; *A Speedy Parliament we Beseech ye Sir*. The King Employs none but *Popish* and *Disaffected Officers*, Let us have a Parliament we Beseech your Majesty, to sit, till All our Grievances are Redress'd.] D'ye Call this, *Addressing*, or *Libelling*? Or how come these *Scandals* to wear the name of *Petitions*?

He has another Touch at my Parallel in the next Page [*The Design* (he says) *of* that *Age, being to Reduce us to* Slavery, *and* this *to* Free *us from it*] *This is more* said then he is able to make out; for how does he know that the men of *Forty One Design'd* us to *Slavery*; and that the *same men* in *Eighty One* are *Designing* to *Free* us *from* it? Does not *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, from the *same Lips* signifie just the *same thing now* that it did *then*? And why may not a man Conclude, that the *Same Persons*, with the *same Pretences* have still the *Same Ends*?

The Grievance of the Nation (he says) *is a Popish Successor*; *and That Grievance once Remov'd by a Bill of* Exclusion, *we Counter-mine*

land,

All the Arts, and Subtilties of Rome. *The King shall have* Money, *and the* Entire Affections *of All, or most of the Commonalty of* England, *which have, or can be* Alienated, *or* Estranged, *by his Unhappy and too Vigorous Defence of a Successor, so universally Odious.*

This Clause is to Possess the People, that the Excluding of a *Popish Successor* would do the whole Business. It is a Great Blessing to the Party that men of this Kidney are never to be put out of Countenance; for the Authour would Blush else at a Suggestion that every man that can read, is able to Contradict. Here's the Subject of a *Popish Successor* Started, and the *Prerogative* of a *Protestant King*, in *Possession*, *Invaded*, by every Pamphleter that Presumes to handle this Question; for there are *Popish Forts*, *Popish Castles*, *Popish Militia's*, *Popish Guards*, *Popish Courtiers*, *Popish Councellors*, *Popish Judges*, *Popish Juries*, *Popish Bishops*, and in fine, *Popish Torys*, and *Tantivys*, as well as *Popish Successors*. And All these Popish Circumstances must be either Remov'd, or secur'd, to the good liking of the Faction; or else the Diverting of the Succession (according to the Ordinary language of the Press) is as good as nothing. And then to Crown the Contumely, That Prince is Charg'd with Affecting an *Arbitrary Power* whose almost Fatal Concessions already have but barely left him Power enough to keep the Crown on his Head. But what's the meaning now, of Cramping, and Imposing upon the *Civil* Power, what's that to *Religion* and the *Plot?* The Solution is this: The Faction, Designing upon both *Church* and *State*, finds it Expedient to Attaque *both together*; to the end that the Project upon the score of *Religion* may hold out till they have Gain'd their Ends upon the *Monarchy*.

His next Intimation of the Kings having lost the Affections of the People; for asserting the Rights of his Brother, (though according to *Honour*, *Justice* and *Conscience* as his Majesty himself Declares) This Intimation (I say) is so far from the Report of a *Truth*, (as appears by the almost Unanimous Addresses of the Nation to the *Contrary*, that it is clearly an Artifice to Render his Majesty low in the Opinion of his People.

He Passes now to a Reflection upon Times and Times, wherein to my thinking, the Reason lyes strong and Directly against him. [*The Miseries of the Late Civil Wars* (he says) *are too lively in the Peoples Memorys, for them ever to be wrought up again into the* same Frenzy.] Now I fancy on the other hand, that the Com-

igoff so Cheap, and with so much Profit and Advantage for *one* Rebellion, is a great Encouragement for the same Persons to venture upon *another*. I am the larger upon the Preface, because it is somewhat better Colour'd then the Text.

Though the Deluded Multitude (says he, Ibid.) *were then put out of love with* Kings, *they found too soon, by Wofull Experience, that the* Protectorate *was ten times* worse, *and whatever Prejudice they had conceived against the Old Unhappy* King, *yet the Grievous Oppressions, Taxes, and standing Armys, under* Cromwell, *quickly open'd their Eyes, and to their own Sad Cost, Assur'd them, they had not mended, but Marr'd their Condition by Rebelling*. Ibid.

I would he had Explain'd himself whether it was TOO SOON in the *Peoples* opinion, or in his *own*. And then he speaks again as if the Rebellion had been *only* the setting up of the *Protector*; for he takes no notice of any Grievous Oppressions, Taxes and standing Armys till the *Protectorate* of *Cromwell*; And all the *Interval*, (betwixt Driving the King from *London*, and the setting up of that *Mock-Royolet*) under the Blessed Administration of the *Lords* and *Commons*, was only a Certain kind of method peculiar to the *Godly* for the asserting of the *Protestant Religion*, and the *Liberty* of the *Subject*, against the Fears of *Arbitrary Power*, and *Popery*. I come now to the Conclusion of his Preface.

I will confess (says he) *This present Age has Derived one thing from* Forty one, *and* Forty two; *and that is, a* Curse *they left behind 'em: The Curse of the* Sheperds boy *in the* Fable; *Our Crying out so often formerly*, Help Master, Help; the Wolf's in the Sheepfold; *when he was* not *there, has made us Disbelieved at last now he* is *there*; *and like him too, be left most Helpless when we most want it*]

The Authour may be pleas'd to take notice; that our Business does not lie with the *Wolf* in the *Fable*, but with the *Wolf* in the *Gospel*; the *Wolf* in *Sheeps Cloathing*: and that the very Wolves that Worryed the Flock under the Last King, are now again Grinding their Teeth at 'em under This. And so much for his Preface; We shall now proceed to his Text.

Upon my Arguing, that if *Christian Princes*, under Articles of *Treaty*, and *Agreement*, keep *Touch* even with *Infidels*, much more will *Christians* keep Touch with one another. [*What Relation* (says he) P. 1.) *can* Christian Princes *keeping Touch with* Infidels *have to a* Popish Successors Tyranny, *and* Injustice *over his own* Subjects?]

jects?] And again P. 2. *The Fidelity between Prince and Prince, holds no Proportion or Affinity with that betwixt Prince and People. A King for Breach of Faith with his People, Esteems himself only accountable to God; but for Breach of Faith with Forreign Princes, whether Christians or Infidels, he is accountable to man, and may draw down a just War upon his Head for such a Violation*, &c.

If I had not more Respect to the Rules of *Good Manners*, then to the force of his *Reasoning* I should, upon such an occasion as this, treat him as Coursly as he does me upon all occasions. The Question is not what a Popish Prince will do upon *Interest*, but what upon *Conscience*, and *Religion*, In which Case, the *Morality* is the *Same* to another *Prince* and to a *Subject*; so that our Author is quite beside the Cushion, [*But what* (says he) *if his Priests shall perswade him that he ought not to keep his Faith*? And what, say I, if his Conscience shall tell him he will be damn'd if he does not? Is not the Why and the Wherefore here as broad as it is long?

The Characterizer (says he) *tells us* P. 3 *That in a* Bigotted *Prince, his* Moralls *shall be* Slaves *to his* Zeal. And then [*I am ashamed that any men that pretend to write sense, should endeavour to Perswade us that a Popish* Bigot, *and a man of* Courage, *and* Wisdom *in a Successor, should not go further towards the Establishing of Popery, then a Coward, and a Fool.*]

I will allow that he that is *Daring* enough to *Attempt* any thing, and *Subtil* enough, to play his Game to the most *Advantage*, is much more Capable, then a man less Bold, and Crafty, of bringing his Ends to Pass. But what is this *Fearlessness*, and *Cunning*, to *True Courage*, and *Wisdom*, that Govern all our Actions according to the Measures of *Right Reason*, and *Justice*? So that the Authour gets nothing upon this Point, unless he can make out *Temerity*, and *Breach of Faith* to be *Virtues*. But the Great Danger I find is in a *Bigotted* Papist, and either our *Popish Successor* is *That*, or *That Danger* does not fall into this *Case*.

Had we an Heir Apparent (says the Character, Ibid.) *of no more Religion then a* Julian, *or* a Nero, *and yet at the same time were Completely Master of the Moral Virtues, possibly he might steer*, &c. Now would I fain have the Author of the Character, and his Deputy to lay their Heads together upon this Text. We might do well enough (he says) with a *Julian*, a *Nero*, &c. and why not well enough then, as he himself has stated the matter? P. 13. in his

Reply upon *L'Estrange*, [*If his Royal Highness* (says *L'Estrange*) *would have plaid the Hypocrite as the Characterizer charges it upon him, he would have Render'd himself a* Protestant *to the Eye of the* World, *though a* Papist *in his* heart; *That being the only means to have Gain'd him his Point.* But Behold now with what Indignation the *Character-maker* Reflects upon such a Supposition.

I wonder (says he) *to what Readers these Authours write, that at this time of day, they would make us believe that his Squeamishness against the* Test, *and the* Oath of Supremacy, *made our Conscientious Heir quit his Honourable Employmentn! As we better remember, 'Twas not so much the* Test, *as the* Test-makers, *that Disgusted him. His natural Antipathy to Parliaments, his Continual Little thoughts of that Great Councell, (and less of them he will have if ever he comes to the Crown) with his Disdain, that such Insolent Earth and Ashes should dare to give Laws to his Divinity. So that in short, his* Pride; *not his* Conscience *got the* Ascendent; *and whatever Advantages he might have gain'd by keeping his Employments, and swallowing the Oaths, yet such is his* Perverse, *and* Stubborn Haughtiness, that he would rather cry, *Sink Interest*; *Perish Succession*; *and even* Popedom it self, *rather then Truckle to what I Scorn.*

The Reader will take notice here, of the shifting of the *Scene*, and that the Business is no longer the *POPISH Successor*, the *BIGOTTED Successor:* but the *PERVERSE*, the *STUBBORN*, the *HAUGHTY Successor*: The Successor of *no Religion at all.* So that he has Chang'd his Battery, from the *Opinion* and *Profession* of the *Successor*, to the temperament of his *Humour*: and the same Bolt strikes a *Perverse KING* to the Heart, as well as a *Perverse SUCCESSOR.* Nay, the Character lays violent Hands upon it selfin this Paragraph, and cuts the very throat of its own Arguments. What's become now of all his Expanded Rhetorick, and his Embroder'd Allegories? One hasty word has laid this mighty piece of Ostentation level with the ground: And the *Character-man* has discharg'd the *Successor*, of the most dangerous point, out of his own Mouth. Why here's no *Popery* in the Case, it seems. [*Perish Popedom it self* (says he) *rather then Truckle to what I Scorn*] His *Spight* (as we are told) was not at the *Test*, but the *Test-maker*, and 'tis the *Character-maker* Probably too that has the Spight at *him*. And who knows but the *Test-maker*, and This *Character-maker* may be somewhat akin too?

Now for the Dukes *Antipathy* to *Parliaments*, I never heard this charg'd

charg'd upon him, but by those that had an *Antipathy* for *Kings*; And all this is only Fleshing of a Faction upon the *Duke*, to prepare them for further Attempts upon his *Majesty himself*.

After this Gross and Palpable Contradiction of himself; *First* in casting the whole weight of *his Argument*, and of *our Danger* upon the *Religion*, and *Bigottery* of the Duke. And then in declaring him to be of *no Religion at all*; and so far from *Bigotted* to the Church of *Rome*, that he would Sacrifice even the *Popedom it self* to his *humour*; (which shews that he writes his Gall, not his opinion) The Reader will not be surpriz'd, I suppose, at the boldness of any Calumny, after so Malicious, and so Shameless an Imposture. This is to prepare the Reader for another peice of Confidence and Invention in the Story of one *Rohux*, P. 3. Wherein, if it were possible, he has outdone himself.

Take notice that this Relation was first expos'd to the World, (at least I never heard of it before) in the *Second Letter* about the *Black Box*, under the Title of [*A Letter to a Person of* Honour, &c.] The *Character* calls him *Rohux*; the *Letter Monsieur Rohan*: the one being only an Improvement of the other, and the Original came into the world with the *Black Box*, unless possibly the Hint might be taken from the Story of *Marsilly*, the Person that Negotiated the Triple Alliance, who having been in *England* went away again about his Business; was taken afterwards by a Party of *French* out of one of the Cantons of *Switzerland*, carried to *Paris*, and there broken upon the *Wheel*. This Account of *Marsilly* agreeing with that of *Rohux* in all the Circumstances of an *Agency* in *England*, his *Seizure*, and his *Execution*. Now though this Narration carries in the very face of it the most Manifest Marks of Falshood, in Respect, not only of the Incoherence and Incredibility of the Parts of it; but in regard also of the (almost) Impossibility of the Particulars coming to light, which are therein Suggested; I shall yet, over and above, Recommend to the Peruser of these Papers, the Disagreements betwixt the *Character*, and the *Letter*, which will abundantly Evince the whole matter to be only a Scandalous Contrivance.

This same *Rohux* (says the (*character*, P. 3.) was Commission'd as an *Agent* into *England*, to Implore his Majesties Mediation to the *French* King in favour of the *Hugonots* of *France*, and apply'd himself to his Royal Highness to Facilitate his Access.

Now the Letter *says*, *that* Monsieur Rohan (*as he is there*

call'd

call'd, came into England *to treat with the King concerning an Allyance betwixt his Majesty, and Forreign Protestants, meerly for the Preservation of their* Religion, *and that having acquainted the Duke of* York *with his Errand,* &c.

Wee'le first observe the Differences, as we go; and afterward, set forth what mov'd the Author of the Character to change his Tale. The *One* makes *Rohan's* business to be a General Proposal of an *Allyance*; the *Other* only a Bare and Particular *Intercession* for the *Hugonots* of *France*. The *one* only makes the Duke *acquainted* with the Proposal; the *other* Addresses Expresly to the Duke for his *Recommendation*.

Now says the *Character* again. [*This Royal Heir, or Masquerader,* (*or by what other Title Disguis'd or distinguish'd*) *with a seeming Cordial Friendship Embraces the Poor* Hugonots *Cause; and day after day Receives his Addresses with many Solemn but Airy Promises of Speedy Assistance; but in the mean time, Disgusted, and Gall'd to the Soul, at so Audacious and Impious a Petition, as the* Protestant Preservation; *and Abhorring so Detestable an Employment;* (*Nay, the very* Name *of the* Hereticks Defender) *instead of his Promised Aid, he, on the contrary, most cunningly laid the Platform of a Revenge, as exquisit as so Hainous a Petition deserved. Immediately he goes to the* French *Ambassador, and tells him how one of the* French *Subjects had very Arrogantly and Scandalously Calumniated his Great Master, with Opprobrious names of* Tyranny, Oppression, *and* Breach *of* Faith; *into which very language he himself before had Exasperated him, on* Purpose *to make his Ruine* Secure, *which the Bare accusation of a suit in behalf of his Religion would not alone have Effected. The Ambassador,* (*as bound in Duty, for the vindication of his Kings Honour*) *desires a further Testimony of the Offence and Offender: which the Royal Informer effectually gives him, by appointing another Conference with* Rohux; *Where Privately he Plants this Kingly Representative as an Honourable Eves-dropper to overhear a Repetition of the whole Discourse, and Confirm his Belief from his own Ears. This Conference* (*P.* 4.) *Contriv'd and Manag'd as heart would wish, the Ambassador Posts over this* Rohuxs *Treachery to* France, *whilst he, Poor unsuspecting Innocence, Continues his Dayly Prayers to his Great Advocate. But finding in time so many Dilatory Demurs, He luckily at last Discovers he is Betrayed: Upon which, Dreading the French King, not daring to Return to* France, *He steals away into* Switzerland *for his Protection; but the* French *King being advertiz'd of his Motions,*

gets

gets him Trepann'd by an Ambuscado in the night, and being by Surprize forced out from thence into France *he is broken upon the Wheel.*

Now hear the *Letter.* Monsieur Rohan *having acquainted the Duke of* York *with his Errand, after he had in a Private Conference or two transacted with the King about it, this Royal Prince, out of his wonted kindness to* Protestants, *and the* Reformed Religion, *caused* Ruvigni (*Lieger Ambassador from* France *at this Court*) *to stand behind the* Hangings *at* St. James, *while he made this Innocent Gentleman discourse over the whole business. Upon which, Mr.* Ruvigny *being obliged to acquaint his Master with it,* M. Rohan, *who,* (*upon some Information that the Duke had betray'd him*) *had withdrawn hence to* Switzerland, *was there seized by a Party of* French *Horse, and brought to the* Bastile, *whence, after some time of Imprisonment, he was carried to the Place of Execution and broken on the Wheel.*

Here's nothing in this *Letter*, of the *Seeming Friendship* mention'd in the *Character*; the Promises of *Assistance*; the Plot of *Revenge*, the Trepanning of *Rohux* into Outrages against his Master, nor of the Dukes Lewd Contemplations upon the whole matter, which 'tis Impossible for him to give an account of too, and fitter, in short, for a *Stage* then a *History*. So that all these Aggravations are only the Old Story Corrected and Amended, with *Additions*, for the Credit of his *Character*. And what's his Authority now for this Diabolical Report, but that Infamous Composition of Forgery and Scandal, the Letter about the *Black Box?* Wherein, after all these Vile Imputations upon his Royal Highness, the *Duke* comes off yet better in't then the King.

After his Utmost Effort upon this Romantick Master-piece of Defamation, he lets himself down for a while into a vein of Quirk and Cavill, and then takes wing again (*P.* 8.) into another fit of Rapture and Imagination.

Were there a Country (says he) *where Commissions of Peace, day after day, and Time out of mind, have been taken away for daring but to lift a hand against a Son of* Rome; *Nay, at the same time; when all other Recusants have been Prosecuted, and that with Encouragement, and Reward: And all by a Royall* Heirs *Protection and Interest*, &c.

This way of Trifling might do well enough in a Chimney Corner with a *Once upon a time there was a Country*, &c. but Majesty is not to be play'd with at this Idle Rate. The Plain *English* of it is this; [Look to your selves Good People; the King is Popishly affected; he will not let any man touch a Papist, but the poor Protestant

Proteſtant Diſſenters all this while; they go to pot; &c,] and then he thinks to bring it off by caſting it upon the Intereſt or Power of the Duke with his Majeſty. The very affirming of it is a Scandal; for how does he know whether it be ſo or no? Or what if it were ſo? Is it not the *Kings Act*, *whoever* adviſes him to't? Or can any man ſay that the King does an ill thing (however influenc'd) without reflecting upon his Majeſties Honour and Juſtice? Beſide the Evident untruth of the matter of *Fact*, the Laws being vigorouſly Executed againſt the *Papiſts*; and the *Recuſants*, on the other ſide Indulg'd, till they ſo far abus'd the Kings mercy by dayly affronts, that it was not ſafe to forbear them any longer.

His Ninth Page is ſtuff'd with Reflections upon the Government, and firſt, upon the *Bench* for the Sentence upon *Harris* for Publiſhing the *Appeal*; a Libel that excites Rebellion, and ſupports it ſelf in the Encouragement of it, upon this *Poſition*, that *He that has the worſt Title makes the beſt King*.

And again in the ſame Page [*had the Papiſts Execrable Blow ſucceeded, the Bloud of Majeſty might in all Probability have found the ſame Inquiſition as the firing of* London. What is this but to Imply an Imputation upon the Houſe of Commons, that had the Examination of the whole matter before them; and likewiſe upon his Majeſty himſelf, his Miniſters, and Courts of Juſtice; as if they had not done their parts toward the Diſcovery of it in their Reſpective Stations?

And yet once again (Ibid) *Has not our Late Deſign againſt both King, Religion, and Government, in Contradiction of the Unanimous Vote of the whole* Nation *in Parliament, being Confidently Retorted upon the* Presbyterians? *And that too without the leaſt Proof or ſhadow for't? And then how eaſily might the Papal Policy have made* a Popiſh Murther, *a* Fanatick Stab?

They do ill Certainly that turn the *Popiſh* Plot upon the *Presbyterians*; and little better ſure, that turn the Plots of the *Scottiſh Presbyterians*, and their *Fellow-Covenanters* in *England*, upon the *Papiſts*: And for the *Popiſh Policy* of making a *Popiſh murder* a *Fanatick Stab*; that's only a ſhift they learn'd of the *True Proteſtant Papiſts*, that turn'd a *Fanatick murder* into a *Popiſh Stab*. I proceed now to Page 11.

Now in my apprehenſion (ſays the Authour) *never did any man ſo forget himſelf as Mr.* L'Eſtrange *has done here; He believes here, that*

that

that Unchristian Impression, as the Allowance of Perjury, is only the Tenet of some profligate wretches wholly lost in Brutality and Blindness. But at the latter end of his Book, (P. 83.) he downright contradicts that Belief, and says, Pope *Pius Quintus* absolv'd the Subjects of *Queen Elizabeth* from all their Oaths of Allegiance to her for ever. *So that now belike it was not only the Maxim of the abovesaid profligate wretches, but even of the Great Successor of* Peter, *&c.*

Now in my Apprehension, the Author is every jot as much out of the way as *L'Estrange*; for the *Same Person* may be a *Pope*, and a *Profligate wretch* into the bargain; even by the Concession of *Baronius* himself, and the best of their own Writers.

In the twelfth Page I am Corrected again; *Mr.* L'Estrange (he says) *forgets himself, a little further in this Point*; *and says in the* same 83. Page, [That the *Romish Jesuit* holds, that *Dominion is founded in Grace*, and upon that Principle, Deposes Protestant Princes, *&c. then adds*, that the Pope may deprive a King of his Royal Dignityes for Heresie, Schism, *&c.*

Now by the Authors leave Those Two Words *THEN ADDS*, refer to another Paragraph. My business being only to shew Certain Instances wherein the very worst Positions of the *Romish Jesuits* are Match'd, if not *Out-done*, by the *Covenanting Jesuits*; and as much the *Tenets* of *Profligate Wretches* on the *One* side as on the *Other*.

He takes me to task again (P. 13.) for *saying* ['That in the Case 'of a *Popish* King, who is either kept out, or Driven from the 'Exercise of his Right by the tumultuary License of the Rabble, 'an Oath of Abjuration, in Case of any fair opportunity for him 'to Assert his Claim with his Sword in his hand, will be so far 'from Engaging any man against him, that yeilded contrary to 'his Conscience, to Swallow it, for the saving of his Stake, that 'he will find no Firmer Friends to his Cause, or Interest, then 'those men that are stimulated both by Honour and Revenge to 'the Execution of their Dutyes.] *And upon this Clause*, (he says) *'tis plain, that by those* Abjuring-Oath-Swallowing Friends, *I can mean no other but the* Church of England Protestants. And afterward, (P. 14.) once again for *laying so wretched, so Despicable and so cowardly a Condescention at their Dores, as the Abjuration of Gods anointed, and their Native Sovereign, to save a Stake, a Cow, a Farm or a Cottage. Aye, But that Abjuration is but a Copy of their*

Countenance he tells ye. Fye Mr. L'Estrange, *this is worse and worse! What? the Members of the Church of* Englands *Communion so Notoriously break a Gospel Precept, as to come to a* So help me God, *with a Lye in their Mouths, and a* Reserve *in their hearts; to play the* Hypocrite, *and that too, even with Oathes; and to do so Impious an* Ill *that* Good *may come of it?*

What a Stir is here about nothing? My Reasoning lyes thus: If it comes to a Push, the Enemies of the Successor will undoubtedly have recourse to their old Practise of Imposing an Oath of *Abjuration*, for the securing of themselves in their Usurped Possessions: And *if any* (say I) *shall be so weak, or so wicked, as to take it*, It will only serve for a Spur to their *R*evenge, so soon as they shall meet with a fair opportunity to Break it, without any obligation upon them at all to the contrary. So that I do not say, either that it is *Lawfull* to take such an Oath, or that any *Church of England-men* will *Submit* to do it; but that whoever shall be so far Prevail'd upon, will find himself both bound in *Conscience* to break it, and Prick'd in point of *Honour* to Avenge himself upon the Imposers of it.

I would here desire the Reader to wash his Eyes; for the Author is about to shew him [*one of the most notorious falshoods averr'd that ever look'd Light i'th face.*] (P. 15.) And *this* is it. *L'Estrange* says in the Case of *Harry the Great*, [The People of *France*, though *Roman Catholicks*, would not submit to the Dispossessing of a *Protestant Successor.*] Now says the Character; [*The Roman Catholick People of* France *were so far from admitting this Protestant Successor to the Throne, that 'tis Recorded, they shut their very Gates against him; and so little acknowledged him their King, that the* Pope, *and the States of* France *were for setting up no less then Three* Competitors *against him*, &c.

'Tis very true; the *Jesuited*, and the *Rebellious Papists* of the *League* did shut their Gates upon *him*, as our *Jesuited Covenanters* shut the Gates of *Hull*, and other places here in *England* against *our Sovereign*. But still there was a Party of *Honourable*, and *Loyal Roman* Catholicks that joyn'd with the *Protestants* in his Defence, and Support; And if the Authour of the Character had not been very much to seek aswell in the *Civility* as in the *History* of *France*, he would never have call'd that a *Point-Blank Falshood*, which has the Best Authority of *France* to Vouch it for an *Unquestionable Truth.* And then so many of his Roman Catholick-Subjects

adhering

adhering to him, notwithstanding the Popes Declaring against him, makes it a clearer Case that his Holynesses Deposing of an Heretical Prince does not Absolve all Papists from their Allegiance to him. In one word; It was upon that Revolution, with the *Papists* in *France*, as it was not long since with the *Protestants* in *England*. Those that were *Factious*, and *Seditious*, took up Arms *against* their Prince; and those that were *Honest* and *Loyal*, *Assisted* him.

He goes on with a Flourish upon the Instance of *Sigismund* King of *Sweden*, [*In whom* (says he) *Neither Magnanimity, Justice, All the Cardinal vertues that adorn'd him, nor all the Promising Perfections and Accomplishments of Nature, strengthen'd with all the Bonds of Protestations, Oaths, or Sacraments, could hold the Head-strong Violence of his Religion.*] P. 16.)

Here is first an Argument drawn from a *Particnlar* to an *Universality*; as if, because this Prince brake his Faith; no Popish Prince ever did, or will keep it. Would either the Authour of this Character now, or his Deputy take it well to be paid in his own Coin, or by his own Measure? Here's an Opposer, in truth, of his *Royal Highness* rather then of a *Popish Successor*; who to get the fairer blow at his *Person* has Discharg'd the Point of *Religion*. This Opposer (I say) of the Duke of *York* has let fall many Dangerous words (as is already prov'd) in his two Characters, against his *Majesties Person*, *Authority*, and the very Frame of the *English Monarchy*; Does it follow therefore, that *All* the Adversarys of his *Royal Highness* are Enemies to the *King* and *Government*.

In the next Page, upon my saying that Expedients had been offer'd for the Obviating of Difficulties, and for securing the Protestant Religion. [*If the Parliament at Oxford* (says he P. 17.) *were not damnably mistaken, or very Lewdly forgetfull, they have declared* Nemine Contradicente) *that neither they, nor their Predecessors have ever heard or seen one Syllable of such a* Frame of Expedients *offer'd them.*]

The Gentleman, under favour, forgets himself, if he means that there never were any such Expedients *offer'd*; for this Project of Accommodation was Agitated, and Modified, even in the late Long Parliament. And Expedients have been likewise since Propos'd, unto which his Majesty refers himself in his late Declaration, in these words [*But contrary to our OFFERS and Ex-*

pectation; we saw that NO EXPEDIENTS would be ENTERTAIN'D, but that of a Total Exclusion, &c.] P. 6.

Toward the bottom of the *Seventeenth Page*, the Character makes an Invidious Descant upon the hopes the *Papists* had of a *Toleration*; but not one Syllable of the Persons that started those hopes, nor upon what Interest, and Consideration the Design was set affoot. Now he knows very little of our Affairs, who does not understand that none were so forward and so Importune for the Gaining of the Dukes Assistance toward such an Indulgence, as those very People that are now so Clamorous against his Royal Highness *for* it. Not that any such Disposition was wrought by his Interest, but they Labour'd it however, under that Plausible Pretext; that Provided the *Dissenters* might be eas'd on the *one* side, they would do their best also and Content themselves that the *Papists* might be eas'd on the *other*.

The *Nineteenth Page*, smells of the *Romance*: *Second Ajax*, *Ulisses*, *Palladium*; *Troynovant*; *Tullia*, &c. as if the Author were speaking to us by his Deputy: And then toward the bottom of the Page, Enter the True Author again; who (P. 21.) guides his Deputy's hand while he writes these words. [*The Author of the Character is a Person so far from laying his hand on his heart, and owing any Benefit to Royal Pardons, or Acts of Oblivion, that I must say this Truth for him, January 48. was past before he was born.*] I would he had taken in the other two Figures (16.) to have told us what *Century* he speaks of. There was a Gentleman of my acquaintance in the late times, that would needs make himself the Author of *Killing no Murther*; and had like to have been hang'd for his pains, though he never wrote Syllable on't; But if Mr. *Deputy* has so great a kindness for his *Principal*, as to take the Character upon him, the Millers man that was Truss'd for his Master, was told I remember, that *he could never do his Master better Service*.

The Remainder of his Discourse is almost wholly Forrein to the matter in Question, Insisting Principally upon two Points; the *Danger*, and the *Inconvenience* of a *Popish Successor*; wherein I have declar'd my self in my first Character (P. 3.) that [*I take All his Suppositions of Difficultyes and Hazzards in the Case for Granted.*] not that I think them so great as he Represents them; but yet admitting them so to be, that very Concession will not do his Business. The second Point is, 'Whether *the Parliament*

'*ment* of *England*, may by the *Laws* of *England* Exclude the next 'heir of the Blood from the Succession of the Crown ? upon thi 'Question I have thus deliver'd my self in my *Case Put* (P. 9.) '[Some are of opinion *For* it ; others *Against* it ; but the *Legality* or *Illegality* of such an *Act*, is a Point that I am not willing to 'meddle with either one way or other. For whether the Thing 'may *Lawfully* be done or *not* ; there may be *Danger* yet and *Inconvenience* in the Putting of the Question.] And so likewise in 'my *first Character* (P. 53.) [As to that way which is matter of 'Parliamentary Cognizance I reckon it my Duty to Acquiesce in 'the Legal Issue of their Debates ; as an Authority to which I 'have ever paid a Duty and Veneration.] So that it would be utterly superfluous to spend Time, and Words, upon an *Argument* wherein I can for *Quietness* and for brevity sake allow him his asking, and preserve the main of the Cause still untouch'd. But for such Passages as fall in by the by ; and properly within the Compass of my Design, I shall take such notice of them as I find Pertinent to my Purpose.

In the 24*th*. Page, he makes his Gloss upon that Clause in the Oath of *Allegeance* where we swear to be *faithfull to the Kings Lawfull Heirs and Sucessors*. [*There's nothing in that Oath* (says he) *that binds them to the* Person *but to the* Thing ; *to no* Particular *man, any further then he is* Heir *and* Successor ; Lawfully *so* ; *and no man truly is either* Heir *or* Successor, *till he Inherits, and Succeeds.*

Now if this Clause binds us not to the *Person*, but to the *Thing* ; We swear Fidelity Previously to the *Right*, which takes place before the *Succession*.

In the Lowest Line of this Page, he Lodges the *Absolute* Power of the Law in the *Three Estates in Parliament*. *And* P. 25. Expounds this Position, under the notion of *the Higher Powers of England*; *King Lords and Commons*; which is a Flat denial of the *Kings Sovereign Power*. *And* since he is pleas'd to set up a new form of Government, He should do well to furnish us with a New Oath of Supremacy too : That instead of Declaring the *Kings Highness* to be the *only Supreme Governour* of this Realm ; We may Swear Faith and True *Allegeance* to *King*, *Lords and Commons*, and to *their Highnesses* Lawfull Heirs and Successors. This *Coordinate* Imagination was the Main Pillar of the *Late Rebellion*.

See what Work he makes now upon these following words in my (*First Character*. P. 69.) With Reverence to the Utility and Con-

'Constitution of good and wholsome Laws, it is not presently to 'Cite a Statute, or say *there's a Precedent*, for those Laws, that 'are Repugnant to the *Light of Nature* and *Common Right*, are 'Nullities in themselves.

Now (says he.) *Here's one of the boldest Master-strokes of the Pen that ever came in Print. This Point once gain'd, All the* Protestant *Laws since the* Reformation, *and the whole Fabrick of the Present Government, are Totally Subverted. 'Tis but a Popish Successor believing and maintaining that all the Protestant Laws ever since* Harry the Eigth's *Perversion, are against the* Light of Nature, *and Consequently*, Nullityes in themselves.

His Logique, I perceive, is all of a piece: If *one* Popish Prince be a *Tyrant*, or a *Faith-breaker*, *All MUST* be so. If *one* Statute *BE* found against *Common Right*, therefore *All MAY BE* so. And then, what fear, (I say) of a Popish Successors Damning All Protestant Laws, when 'tis a Known Rule that the Judges are the only Interpreters of the Law? But These *Possible Nullityes* will find better Quarter perhaps from *Walker*, then from *L'Estrange*; and therefore I shall refer Mr. *Deputy* to the *History* of *Independency*, *Pag.* 116. 117. Printed at *London* 1648. 'The Authority of 'the *Judges* is *Judicative*; whose Office is (upon Cases brought 'before them) to determine *whether an Act be Binding or no*: (For 'Acts of Parliament *against Common Right*, *Repugnant*, or *Impossible*, 'are *Voyd*: Coke 8. fol. 118. Dr. and Student. L. 1. C. 6.) and to 'expound the Meaning, and Signification of the Words of such Act.] Mr. *Walker* was a man of Law, and Abilityes; and far from a stickler, either for *Prerogative*, or *Popery*: Nay, even a Borderer upon *Coordination* it self. But yet he brings himself off, with a *Distinction*, from the poynt which our Authour swallows *Whole*. It is most certain (says the Other, *Pag.* 116.) *that when the Three Estates in Parliament have pass'd any Act, Their Power Determins, as to that Act; and then, the Authority of the Judges Begins*. And whereas the Character (*Pag.* 25.) calls King, Lords, and Commons, the Higher Powers of *England*, without any more adoe; Mr. *Walker* qualifyes it, (Pag. 117.) [*Though this Kingdom* (says he) *has always been Ruled by King, Lords, and Commons; yet by the* King Architectonicè, *and the* other Two Organicè; *the* King *as the* Architect, *the* Lords *and* Commons *as his* Instruments; *Each in his proper Sphere of Activity, without interfering: And till This again come in use, look for no Peace.*] This was the Principle of

of 41. and 42. brought off as well as the matter would bear.

From hence he proceeds upon the agitation of the *Question* of *Disinheriting*; which (as I have said before) is nothing at all to my business; nor of any moment in the least to the deciding of this Controversy, till all other Rubs and Difficulties that lye in the way to't shall be first clear'd: and especially that undenyable Impediment of the Kings Refusal; which must be allow'd on all hands (whether the thing may be Lawfully done, or not) to be an Obstacle not to be Disputed, or Oppos'd.

The Character-maker, (Pag. 26.) finding himself pinch'd, upon the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*, according to the Practice and Precept of the Primitive Times, and the very Text of Holy Writ it self; brings himself at last to this Notable Resolution of parting with his Religion rather then his *Argument*.

The Correspondence (says he, *P.*26.) *between Ours and the* Primitive Christians *Case is here so incoherently ballanced*,[by L'Estrange,] *that never were Arguments more Fantastical. The* Primitive Christians *preacht Obedience to* Nero; Yes, *and they had forfeited their Christianity, if they had done otherwise. But what was that* Nero? *An* Absolute Monarch: *And what those* Primitive Bishops? *Not such as* Ours; *they were not a part of the* Legislative *Power of the Nation, as* Our Prelates *are. If* Nero *invented Racks, Tortures, and Gibbets, for Persecuting or murthering the poor Christians; he did it by his own uncontrolable Authority; nor were those* Primitive Bishops *call'd to make* Laws, *and therefore had not the Lawfull power of the least Vote in moderating of* Nero's Cruelty, *or in redresse of the* Christians Torments.

The *Authour* begins now, to speak *English*. First, he slips in the difference of the Case betwixt an *Absolute*, and a *Limited Monarch*. 'Tis true; the *One Acts* according to his *Pleasure*; the *Other* is so far bounded by *Rules*, and *Laws*, that it is a Violation of *Honour*, and *Conscience*, in Ordinary Cases, to pass those Limits. But what is all this to the *Subjects Obedience?* For 'tis as much *Rebellion*, in *Them*, to take up *Arms*, contrary to *Law*, against a *Limited Monarch* that plays the *Tyrant*; as against an *Absolute Prince* that Governs by his Own *Will:* For the *Duty* of the *Subject* is the same to the *One*, as to the *Other*; unless there be some clear and explicite Provision, or Stipulation in the Government, to the Contrary. *And* his Other Shift, upon the Difference betwixt *Their Bishops* and *Ours*, looks as if Mr. *Deputy* had

written

written that out of his own *Mother-wit*, withont consulting his *Oracle:* For how should that Diversity of the Case operate upon the poynt of *Passive Obedience*, to make it *more* or *lesse* a *Duty*? He has but one way in the world, that I can see, to support his *A*rgument; and that must be by destroying his Cause: For if there be no more then this in't that the Primitive Bishops had no Votes in Parliament, which our Prelates have, his Meaning is, that when they come once to Vote in Parliament, they *A*ct no longer in the condition of *Subjects*; which is a further Explanation of himself upon a *Coordinate State:* Only I think he had as good have kept himself under the *Blind* of a *Legislative Power*, without *Translating* it into *the Power of MAKING LAWS*; For though the Two Houses may be properly sayd to *Make*, or to *Prepare Bills*; yet the making of *Laws* is the Sole Priviledge of the *S*upreme Magistrate. If by what he says of the Power (or Right rather) of moderating Votes, he intends only Offices of Mediation, or Councell; so far, 'tis well enough: but if he stays there, 'twill never do his business; for there must be Relolution also, and *A*ction, as well as debate, and *A*dvice; and that's the thing he does more then intimate he would be at, in the remaining part of this Paragraph.

We are not (says he pag. 30) *to wait Gods further Pleasure, and Providences to come, with so entire a Resignation, till we neglect a Lawfull Preservation, when approaching Ruine Threatens us.*

The Question (with the *A*uthor's favour) is not the *neglecting* of *Lawfull means*, but whether the *Expedient* here under Consideration be *Lawful*, or *not*: *A*nd the Writer of the Character is so candid, as in the next Clause to come within a very little of agreeing with *L'Estrange*, in the *Negative*. [*However* (says he) *that the Authors Opinion may not appear so strangely Enormous, nor his Passion so wholly destructive to Government, and so opposite to Christianity as his Answer would render it, let us make a little Explanation of the Character*, &c.] But he does yet, in the same Page, declare himself, that *Passive Obedience* may be layd aside, under the Tyranny of a *Popish Succession*; That is to say, It is *Lawfull* for *Protestant Subjects* to Resist a *Popish Prince*, in the *Actuall Possession* of his *Authority*, and *Government*: For so he expounds himself (P. 27.) upon the word *Successor*. *No man* (says he) *truly is either Heir, or Successor, till he Inherits, and Succeeds.*

And then he palliates the matter over again (pag. 31.) *whatsoever*

ever Passive Obedience (*says he*) *is due to our* Native Prince *we have none due to a* Forreign Invader; *and 'tis a plain case, that the* Popes Supremacy *entring into* England *is an* Invading, *and* Usurping *Regality.*

How the Opinion of a Prince shall discharge Subjects of their Obedience to Laws, I cannot imagine; Or by what Right one sort of People under the same Government shall pretend to Overrule another in such a Case. Or I would fain know, whether upon the same Ground they may not alter the *Form* of the *Government* as well as destroy the *Lawfull Successor*. Or, in one word, is not the Government already overthrown, and all the Laws, *ipsofacto*, dissolv'd in this very *Position*? Those Laws that have made us the Envy of the Christian world, and the Glory and Bulwark of the Reformation. *And* again; if the People may be Judges in *This Case*, they may, upon the same pretense, be Judges in any *Other*; and as well exterminate a Prince for any *other Reason*, as for his *Religion*. 'Tis but for Mr. *Deputy* to tell the People, that the *King himself* is not *fit* to *Govern*; and what has his Majesty to expect, but to march after his Brother? Grant but this Point, that the *Multitude* (who are, in effect, *Hands* without *Heads*) shall over-rule the *Laws*; where are we then, but in a state of Horrour and Confusion, and Effectually in the Possession of One Hell upon Earth as the Earnest of *Another*; without any Religion at all, and every ones Knife at the throat of his Brother? But am I a Subject to the Kings *Religion* or his *Title*? Or where shall I find the *Rules*, and *Bounds* of my *Civil Duty*? In the *Law*? Or, in the *Character*? The *Law* makes my *Allegeance, Absolute*; the *Character* makes it *Conditional*: The *Law* binds me to be True to his Majesty, his Lawfull Heirs and Successors, without any regard to *This*, or *That Religion*; the *Character* discharges me in case any of them should happen to be *Papists*.——[*Magno Judice se quisque tuetur.*] *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons* are of *One* Opinion, and Mr. *Deputy*, of *Another*. The *Law* obliges me, upon pain of *Life* and *Estate*; and the *Gospel* upon pain of *Damnation*: But then comes the *Author* of the *Character*, with the *Serpents Dispensation* in his Mouth, and supersedes all. *Hath God sayd ye shall not eat of every Tree of the Garden? And the Woman said unto the Serpent, We may eat of the Fruit of the Trees of the Garden; but of the Tree which is in the midst of the Garden, God hath said,* ye shall not eat of it, *neither shall ye* Touch *it, least ye* Dy. *And the Serpent sayd*

unto the Woman, ye shall not surely Dy; *for God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, Then* Your Eyes shall be opened, *and* ye shall be as Gods, *knowing Good and Evill.* Gen.3.] There's no great Disproportion either in the *Appetite*, or *Temptation.* There's the Voice of *God* in both cases, on the *One* hand, and the Voice of the *Serpent* on the *Other.*

[I cannot find (he says) by this Text, *By Me Kings reign*, &c. But that *By Me Subjects possess their Lawfull Inheritance*, might Claim the same Right. P. 32.]

The Question is not, the Kings Dispossessing Subjects of their Lawfull Inheritance, but the Subjects Dispossessing a Prince of his Lawfull Birthright; *And* by his *Argument*, *Popish Subjects* may be *Dispossess'd* as well as a *Popish Successor*, and *Phanatical* Subjects too as well as *Popish*; If a point of Occasional or Preventional Prudence shall over-rule a Positive Law: *And* according to his Descant, *By me Kings are DEPOSED* (that a House of Commons may Reign) is as good Divinity as *By me Kings REIGN*, though the One is a matter of Divine Institution, for the Comfort of mankind in General, and the other only a Divine permission for the Punishment of some Particular Princes or People. *And* see now how Extravagant an Instance he has brought in for his support.

Nor can I perceive (says he Ibid.) *that there lyes so much Stresse in Gods giving the Government of the Earth, Man, and Beast, unto whom it seemed meet unto him, as to* Nebuchadnezzer *in the Text, but that a MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARZIN, written by the Almighties own hand against his Impious Heir, the* Sacrilegious, Idolatrous Belshazzar *was as much the word of God, and had as much* Divine Institution *in it as* By me Kings reign.

His *Application* here, is not only Rude, and Impertinent, to the Highest Degree; but the *Argument* flyes directly in the face of him; unless he can shew such another *Hand-writing upon the Wall*, against his *R. Highness*, as is here produc'd against *Balshazzar*: Beside that the Intervening of an *Almighty* Power in the Case, does as good as tell us that the Disinheriting of Princes is a priviledge Reserved, by God, Peculiarly to Himself.

He proceeds (P 33.) *to Invalidate* (as he pretends) *the Chief Argument of all my Discourse, and the Fundamental Design of my whole Pamphlet*, viz. *The Un-alterable Right of Succession.*] *And* advances, Confounding *Extraordinary*, with *Common* Cases.

Now so far am I from laying the Stress of my Discourse upon that

that Text, that I have Industriously Declin'd the Question, as the last Article to be handled in this Controversy. And then he spoils the Cause with the very eagerness of defending it, by drawing Conclusions from God's Unaccountable Actings, upon Immediate Revelation, or Direction, to the Practices of men that are under certain Common, and Indispensable Rules and Methods of Obedience and Government [*So Timely a Care* (says he p. 34.) *did the Great Founder of Empires, the Divine Omnipotence take, to shew that the* Dispensations *of Majesty, for his Peoples good, and his own Glory, were to be preferr'd before the Soveraignty of Birth, that Blinder Gift of Chance.*]

This does only prove that God Reserves to himself a Freedom of Dispensing with his own Laws, but not the least shaddow of any such Power Delegated to the People, to Dispense with Gods Laws; and let any man Consider, whether is the more Competent Provision for *the Glory of God, and the Good of his People*, that men should be Ty'd up, though (with some Inconvenience) under God's Appointment, to the Orders of Government, where the Publick Peace is preserv'd, and the Harmony of Humane Society maintain'd, or to leave the Multitude the Judges of those matters which only belong to the Supreme Magistrate, and at liberty to change Governments and Governours as often as they please, which must Inevitably run into Consequences of Bloud and Confusion. And if this be not the thing he would be at, what's the meaning of his recommending the Precedent of the Late King of *Portugal* to the *English*, as a *Practicable Example.*

Have we not had (says he, Ibid.) *a Late King of* Portugal *Depofed, as* Delirious, *and* Frantick, *and Consequently rendered by Law Uncapable of Reigning; and All this done by* HIS OWN SUBJECTS, *and those of* HIS OWN *Religion, without the least Reflection of Treason or Rebellion, or the Aspersion of lifting a hand against the Lords* Anointed.] As who should say, *what a stir is here made about the Duke of* York? *As if it were such a matter to Exclude a Popish Successor. I'le shew ye a way to get quit of the* King himself *though a* Protestant, *and in the* Legal Exercise *of his* Authority. But then you'l say there must be *Delirium*, or *Frenzy* in the case? Just so much as was found in the Late King will be enough to do the Business. Do but possess the *People* once that the *King* is a *Papist*, and that single Charge of *Popery* Includes all *Inabilityes*. For (says our Author *Ibid.*) *There must go so strong a dose of* Folly *and* Madness, *or indeed*

deed both together to make up the Composition of a Popish *Heir to the* Protestant Crown *of* England; *Especially an heir that can be so Fond of the* Gew-Gaws, Bawbles *and* Trumpery *of* Romish *Superstition, as to Hazzard Three Crowns for them*—— *So that if in Truth he but fairly stood the Test of an* Old Statute *we have already, the* Begging *of his* Reversion *would be so Fesible, that it would be Cross we won, and Pile he lost* (P. 35.] Here's a short way of Putting the *King* as well as the *Duke* out of Capacity to Govern. First; say that he is a *Papist*, and then, *Beg* the *Possession* of the Crown, as well as the *Reversion*, for so being.

We are come now to the End of the *Character Complete*, which is so far from being a *Defence of the first Part against* L'Estrange's *Papist in Masquerade*; that first he has not spoken One Syllable to the Point in Question. 2*ly* In the very Title of *Complete*, he does as good as Confess that he has no more to say. And 3*ly*. he has in the 18*th*.page of his *Second Part* Blown up the very Foundation of his *Former*; and Effectually of his whole Pretense, and Design.

The Scope of his Discourse is briefly this; First, to Render the Duke as Odious and Dangerous to the Nation, as Art and Malice can make him, by Virulent Reflections upon his Person under the Dreadfull Character of a *Popish Successor*. 2*ly*, To shew from the Precedents of former Times, that it is no new thing for the Supreme Power to Divert the Succession. Now as to the Danger of a Popish Successor; so far was I from Disputing it, that for Quiets sake I gave it for Granted (*Papist in Masquerade* P. 3.) So that he must not call his *Character Complete*, *A Defence against* L Estrange, of what *L'Estrange* did not *oppose*. And for the Point of the *Succession*; I have not said one Word whether it may lawfully be done or not; but on the Contrary, Industriously Declin'd it; (as I have shew'd already P. 18.) So that his Mighty Defence is only a Beating of the Air, and a Flourish upon two *Topiques* out of the Limits of the Controversy: The First *Point* being out of doors upon the admittance of the Danger; and the Second Postpon'd out of this regard, that it is a kind of a Preposterous *Question* to enquire whether it may be done or not, if the King would agree to it, before we know whether the King will agree to it or no: And this way of Pressing it, will bear yet a worse Construction, his Majesty having already, and over and

over

over Declar'd that he cannot in Honour, Justice and Conscience Consent to it.

As to the Title of the Character Complete, it Expounds it self, in the Concession, that he has said all that he has to say. Nor shall I need to Enlarge upon that Stabbing Contradiction of himself, which I have already noted. (P. 10.) Only in one word I shall recommend it the second time to a Remark. That whereas he Grounds all the Dangers, Terrors and Fatalityes of a *Popish* Successor upon the Dukes *Bigottery* in the *Romish* Religion, he Discharges us (P. 13.) of all those Apprehensions, by a Positive Averrment that the *Duke* is so far from being a *Bigot*, that it is his *Pride*, and not his *Conscience* makes him a *Papist*; and *that he would rather see the Popedome Perish, then lose his Humour*. Wherein first, he dissolves his Argument. 2*ly*, He betrays himself manifestly to Espouse the Interest of a Faction against his Judgment. And 3*ly*. He Authorizes (in so doing) the Disinheriting of a Prince as well for his *Complexion* as his *Religion*.

And this is not all neither. For after the frighting of the *Careless* and *Impious*, with the Fears of *Slavery*; and the *Weak*, and *Scrupulous*, with the Dread of *Hell* and *Damnation* (in case of a *Popish Successor*) Representing the Calamity to be wholly Insupportable; and making it a Point of Conscience, upon what terms soever, to Prevent it; he chalks out to the People such a way for the doing of it as shall much more certainly destroy the *King himself* and the *Monarchy* then the *Successor*. He sets forth the Necessity of doing the thing: His Admiration that the King should Refuse it: How he has lost the Hearts of his People by it; and all the way bespattering his R. Highness, though two thirds of the dirt fall upon his *Majesty*. Resolving all at last into Two or Three Modest Propositions, upon the Foolery of *Passive Obedience*, the *Fundamental Sovereignty* of the *Multitude*, &c. Upon which Positions, If the Duke be thrown out to day, the King is almost sure to follow him to Morrow. His Reply upon my Exceptions to these Positions is in Effect rather a Yielding of the Cause, then a Defence of it: But such a Yielding, as Discovers only an Impotency (though with Great Good will) of Defending it. This is the Substance of his Discourse, and how far it will be found a Defence of his *Former Character* against the *Papist in Masquerade* will best appear, upon Comparing the *Reasons*, and the *Arguments* on *both Parts*.

It is the main Drift of his Pamphlet to Terrify People into a Dread of his R. Highness, and into Undutifull thoughts toward his Majesty by the Dismal Story's he tells of the Danger of a Popish Successor. Now say I on the other side (P. 3.) *It would have been Fair Play in the Character-writer if he had Ballanc'd the Dangers; and told us, This is the Danger One way, and that Another. For* First; *there are many Dreadfull Dangers, which we cannot avoid,* but by Incurring *Greater: As the Leaping of a Garret Window when the Fire has taken the Stair-Case; which is only a Prudent Election (under a Calamitous Necessity) of the less Evil of the Two. Now the same Action which would have been a* Madness, without *that Necessity, becomes an Act of* Prudence with *it, The Great Danger of the* Leap *being Warranted by the Greater danger of the* Fire.

'*Secondly*, It happens many times, that we have no other choice 'before us, but either to suffer the Highest Degree of Misery that 'can befall us in this world, or else to Prostitute our *Souls*, for the 'saving of our skins and Fortunes. Now under such an Exigence 'as this, let the Prospect of things be never so terrible, we are 'to oppose the Duty of *Christians*, of *Subjects* and of *Honest men* to 'all Hazzards whatsoever, and patiently to *Endure* whatever 'we cannot with *Conscience*, and *Honour*, either *Resist* or *Decline*: 'According to the Practice of the *Primitive Martyrs* who wit-'nessed their *Profession* with their *Blood*, as *Christians*, and submit-'ted as *Loyal Subjects* without *Resistance*. So that we are not to 'Govern our selves by a naked Speculation of the Perils that we 'are to Encounter; and the means of Avoiding them; without 'enquiring into the Consistency of those means with the measures 'of *Conscience* and *Duty*.

'*And again* (P. 51.) [We shall now Counterpose Dangers to 'Dangers. Here is a *Present* Opposed to a *Future*; A *Greater* to 'a *Less*, and a *Protestant King* to a *Papist*. The *Present* Danger is 'the Probable Effect of these Intoxicating Methods to the People. 'If Fancy was Poyson to the Multitude under the *Late King*; the 'same Fancy in a Larger Dose, and with less Corrective to it, will 'be at least as strong a Poyson to the People under this. So that 'we are in Forty times a Greater Danger of a Sedition at Hand 'then of a Popish Successor at a Distance. Now what is there 'in the Future to weigh against the Life of the King, the 'Safety of the Church, the Law, Government, and the Peace of 'the Kingdom? There may Possibly be a Popish King; and there

'may

'may Probably not. *And then* (P. 3.) I must Distinguish betwixt 'the Unhappy Circumstance of being under the Allegeance of a 'Prince of that Persuasion, who is Actually in *Possession*, and *Ex-'ercise* of his Power; and the Remote *Possibility* only of that 'Danger; And a *Possibility* too of such a Condition, that a Thou-'sand things may Intervene to Prevent it: As the Contingences 'of *Issue*, *Survivorship*, &c.

'As to the Ballance of a Greater Danger and a Less (P. 52.) 'We'le e'en take the matter as they suppose. A King upon the 'Throne that's Principled for Arbitrary Government and Pope-'ry; but so Clogg'd and shackled with Popular and Protestant 'Laws that if he had never so great a mind to't there is not a 'Subject in his Dominions, that would dare to serve him in his 'Design. But on the other hand; there's no King at all, No 'Church, No Law, No Government, No *Magna Charta*, no Pe-'tition of Right, no Property, no Liberty, *&c.*

'*And again* (P 52.) Here's a *Protestant* Prince Expos'd for 'fear of a *Popish* one. Is the Chimera of a Future Danger of more 'value to us then the *Conscience* of an Incumbent, and Indispen-'sable Duty? Shall we take pet at God Almighty's Providence 'and not go to Heaven at all, unless we may go our own way? 'Shall we Levell a Shot at the *Duke* at a distance, if there be no 'coming at him but through the Heart of our *Sovereign*?

'*Moreover* (P. 53.) The Diverting or Disappointing of the 'Succession must be either by *Prevention*, or by *Exclusion*.

'If there be danger from a Popish Successor, during his Ex-'pectancy *within* the Kingdom; the Danger is Infinitely Greater 'if he be Driven *out* of it. For *First*, (supposing it the Peoples 'Act, (which the Character does manifestly allow of rather then 'fail) there must be an *Illegal*, and *Popular Violence* to accom-'plish it; and there's the Peace of the Government broken alrea-'dy. Beside that the Authors of that Violence can never be secure, 'but by following it with *More*, and *Greater*. And this comes 'presently to be a natural Transition from a *Murmur* against a '*Successor* to a *Tumult* in the *State*: In which case, the King has 'only this Choice before him; either to part with every thing 'for the asking, or to stand the shock of a Rebellion. Now take 'it either way, Here's much a Greater Mischief *Incurr'd* then 'that we *fear'd*: Beside a *Standing Army*, *Taxes* and *Oathes*, that 'follow in Course; and a new set of *Liberty-Keepers*, and *Major-*

Generalls

'*Generalls* to secure the Peace.

'This is the Scene of things at *home*; and if we look *abroad*, 'we shall undoubtedly see the Successors Interest and Reputation 'encreasing dayly, in regard of his *Sufferings*, his *Title*, and his 'Religion (P. 54.)

'Now in Case of a *Popish King*, who is either *kept out*, or *Dri-* '*ven out*, from the Exercise of his Right by the Tumultuary Li- 'cence of the Rabble: whether that King makes any Attempt 'or no, the Nation must be at the Charge, at least of a *Defen-* '*sive War*, and of *Impositions* to maintain it. And this will be the 'Inconvenience, even in the Bare Prospect of the State of the 'Nation, without striking a Blow; But from *Scotland* at least, if 'not from *Ireland* too, they must Expect to be Ply'd with Con- 'tinual Alarms, till the Insupportable Expence of Guarding the '*Borders* and *Coasts*, shall make them as Sick of their *New Pa-* '*triots* as ever they were of their *Old ones*; and force them at last 'to render themselves, and their Spoyl, to the Irresistible Con- 'junction of as many Powers, as will be then Confederate to their 'Destruction.

'And then comes in the *Popery in Earnest*, that was dread- 'ed but in *Fancy* before. When this new King shall, by the Pro- 'per Act and forfeiture of a seduc'd and unforeseeing people, be 'delivered from the Fetters of both *Honour*, and *Laws*. Who 'brings in Popery then, but they that Discharg'd him from those 'Sacred Bonds, by the folly and Contumacy of their own Incon- 'siderate Undertakings? Compare now the Danger of a Popish 'King bounded by Protestant Laws, and Ruling over a Protestant 'People, where he may be as happy as an Imperial Crown, and 'the Affections of his Subjects can make him. Compare I say, 'a Popish King under these Gracious and Obliging Circumstances, 'in the Quiet Adminstration of his Government, with a Prince 'that is forc'd to make his way with his Sword for the Recovery 'of his Own; and is not only Prick'd on by the Impulses of '*Justice*, and *Vengeance*, but Animated by the *Pope himself*, and 'Provoked by *Indignation*, to take the Utmost Advantage of that 'Foolish Forfeiture: the People themselves having Cancell'd the 'Bonds of Authority and Obedience. Let any man Compare 'these two Cases, and then speak his Opinion. (P. 55.)

'*And yet once again.* If it be reasonable to Believe (as we are 'often told, and no Mortal can deny it) that our Religion is an

Eye-

'Eye-sore to the Church of *Rome*; and that this Island would 'make a Considerable Addition to our Victorious Neighbours 'late Conquests, what way in the world could be propounded, 'more to the Advantage, both of the Crown of *France* and the 'Court of *Rome*, then the bringing of matters to the Issue here 'in question? When in the Powerfull, and Liberall Assistances to 'this supposed King, for the Regaining of his Own, the One and 'the Other are but doing of their own business: This Prince, in 'the mean while, being led to the One by *Inclination*, and over-'born upon the Other by *Necessity* (*Ibid.*).

I shall leave it now to the Reader to Judge how far the *Second Character* in Reply upon *the Papist in Masquerade*, may be admitted as a Defence of the *Former*. It is the Authors design, in both Parts, by Amplifying, and Rhetoricating upon the Dangers of a *Popish Successor*, to transport the People into the most Desperate Resolutions of Acting & Suffering all Extremities rather than submit to that Inconvenience. Now (as is already said) the *Danger* of a *Popish Successor* is a point that I have given for Granted beforehand; and no part of the matter here in Controversy. Nor is the *Danger* it self (simply consider'd) of any Concluding Force, in this Case; for First, a *Less* Danger comparatively must give way to a *Greater*. 2*ly*. Let the Danger be never so *Great*, if we cannot avoid it with *Honour*, and *Conscience*, we must resolve to *abide* it. 3*ly*. Here is a *Certain*, and a *Greater* Danger Incurr'd for the Avoidance of an *Uncertain* and a *Less*. 4*ly*, Here is a Disturbance wrought in the *Present* Government of a *Protestant* King for fear of a *Popish* King to *come*. 5*ly*. his Majesty having Positively, several times Declar'd, that he cannot in *Conscience*, or *Justice* agree to the Disinheriting of his Brother, and that therefore *He will never do it*; the Exclusion of his R. H. which is here aim'd at, can never be compass'd but by a Rebellion. 6*ly*. In making a mockery of that which he calls the *Engine* of *Passive Obedience*, the very Position that seems to be Level'd at the *Duke*, Destroys the *King*. 7*ly*. Upon a Fair Collation of the *Publique Danger* both ways, that of *Expulsion*, or *Exclusion* (over and above the *Injury*) is Evidently much Greater then the *Admittance* of him, and the Ready way to *bring in that Popery*, and *Arbitrary Power*, which they Pretend to *fear*. Beside that, it is Manifestly the Project of the Book, and of the Abettors of it, to Reduce This King to the

straits of his Late Majesty, and leave him at Last his Fathers Game to Play. Upon the due Ballancing of these Cases, the main *Question* depends; and that which he calls a *Defence* has not one word of *Argument* upon any of the Passages above Recited; the whole Discourse being rather a *Flourish*, then a *Debate*.

To say nothing of the Dangerous Consequences that may reasonably and probably arrive upon the Agitation of this Question, by exposing the Life of the *Present Prince*, to a thousand Difficultyes, and Hazzards, in the Contemplation of either *Preventing*, or *Establishing* the *Successor*; Whereas in the Regular Course of *Order*, and *Government*, there's no place for those Extraordinary Deliberations. And to me it seems to Imply less Veneration for the Sacred Life of a Prince, then we ought to have; if we can with so much Indifference, think of the *Death* of our *Present Sovereign*, and yet at the same time enter into *Fribbling* and *Captious Questions* about the *Successor*. *Nec jam Illam Diem, & Luctuosam expectare, Peccatum est omnia, & Civiles omnes, & Naturales Leges. Neque certe Disputationem de Regiâ Successione, contra Regis ipsius Voluntatem, Ipsa Regis Vivo, Instituendam, unquam viri boni probaverunt.*

It is against the Laws both of Nature *and of* Nations, *to stand Calculating, in the Contemplation of that Black, and Dismal Event. Nor did ever any Good man approve of Entring into a Dispute about the next Successor to a Crown, during the Life, and contrary to the Will, of the Royall Incumbent.* This was the Judgment of a *French Apologist* for *Harry* the *4th.* and not without very great reason too; for men grow weary of the *Present King*; Intent upon the *Successor*; *Enemies* to the Government in *Being*, as Placing their thoughts and Fortunes wholly upon the *Reversion*: Insomuch, that they look upon themselves at last as (Effectually) the *Subjects* of *Another Jurisdiction*; and Contract a False, and pernicious Interest in the removal of their Soveraign. And it is not all neither, that they are Transported by the hopes of *Advantage*, and *Preferment*, into These Undutifull Deliberations; but when they are once *In*, and *Fixed* betwixt the Dread of *Revenge* from the *Injur'd Successor*, on the *One* hand, and of *Legall Justice* from an *Embroyl'd Government* on the *Other*; there's no Retreating: Nor any other way left them, then to attempt the saving of themselves by a Common Ruine. How miserable now is the Condition of that State, when all these Devills of *Avarice*, *Ambition*, *Despair*, and *Jealousy*, are let loose upon the *Government*.

Now

Now there is none of these Hazzards or Difficultyes, upon the Succession of a Prince that comes to the Crown by a Right of *Descent*, where the Government is quietly Devolv'd upon him by the Gentle Methods of *Providence*, without the Irregular, and Tumultuary favour of the *People*; and without any *Eccentrick* Motions, or Passions, to the Peril or Detriment of the Publique. Nay the very *Enquiry* was look't upon by Antiquity, as a thing so Impious & Undutiful, that the *fifth Council* of *Toledo* Punish'd the very *Question*, [*who should Succed to the Crown after the Death of the King?*] with *Excommunication*; and *that Decree* was Confirmed also by the *next following Council*. Not but that a man may love the King and the Government, and yet out of a misguided Zeal Oppose the Succession. But there is also a *Designing*, a *Spitefull*, and *Seditious* Mixture even in that Composition; as appears by the Writings and Practices that are Employ'd in favour of that Interest. First, as to the *Designing* Part, the Cause is not manag'd according to the Peaceable Methods of *Charity* and *Religion*; but in such a manner, as to Irritate and Enflame the Multitude by Arguments rather of *Terrour*, then of *Reason*. 2ly, the *spite*, and *Malice* of the Humour shews it self manifestly in this; That they are little better then Stark mad upon the striking of them in that Vein, and forget what they Owe to the *Heir of the Crown*; the *Character* of an *Illustrious Prince*; to the *Brother* of their *Sovereign*, to the *Bravery*, the *Vertues*, and the *Services* of his *Person*; to the *Honour*, the *Safety*, and *Tranquillity* of their *Country*; to the *Clemency*, *Conscience*, and *Justice* of a *Protestant* Prince; to the *Dignity* of their *Profession*; and to the *Duty* of *Subjects*. They cast off all Respects to Modesty and Good manners, in their Ribaldry, and Revilings; and lay themselves so *open* in these Intemperate Outrages, that they might with a better Grace Expose themselves *naked* in the *Market-place*. He that shall compare this way of Defending, or Propagating *Religion*, with the Rules and Precepts of the *Gospel*, will easily satisfy himself of what Spirit they are. Lastly, the Seditious Intent of the Libells that have been Publish'd upon this Subject, is as Clear as the Light; for at the same time, while they are hammering into the Peoples Heads a dread of the *Succession*, they are likewise Practicing upon the Honour of the *King*, and Undermining the *Monarchy*. For what's the Reason of our Scriblers Insisting so obstinately upon this Particular; but First; as a Point which the People will most probably take fire at.

And

And 2*ly*, as a thing which they are sure before-hand his Majesty neither *can*, nor *will* ever Consent to? *And* from hence, they take their Rise to a Deliberation how the Business may be done *without* him: till by soft, and Insensible Degrees, they Screw the Government off the Hinges.

The First Clamour is against the *Successor*, for fear of *Popery*; and against the *King himself* upon the *Rebound*, for not going their way to work to *Prevent* it. Their next Complaint is either for want of, or for Fruitless *Parliaments*, and nothing can be more Scandalous, or Dangerous, to his Majesty, then these two Calumnyes. So soon as they have wrought upon the People to *Think* ill of the King, their next work is to Dispose them toward the *Treating* of him ill: And this is done by *Provocation*, and *Perswasion*: for it is a Fair step toward the making of a man believe it *Lawfull* to do a thing, if he can but be brought to have a *Mind* to do it. By *Remonstrances*, and *Appeals*, they Compass the *Former*; and then by *Positions*, and *False Principles* Insinuate the *Other*. It is First the Kings *Duty*, they say, to Call *Annuall Parliaments*. 2*ly*. To let those Parliaments *sit* till they have Redress'd all *Grievances*. 3*ly*. They Inferr from hence, that the *Common Hall* is to Prescribe both the *Time*, and the *Business* for these Parliaments. 4*ly*. That the *King* is made for the *People*, and not the *People* for the *King*; and therefore what *he will* not, *they may*, and *must*. 2*ly*, that *Passive Obedience is a Bugbear*; And *Defensive Arms Lawfull* in the Case of *Popery*, and *Religion*. 6*ly*, It is but *Cares* or *Janeways* declaring, that the *Clapping* up of the *Protestant Joyner* is a *Levying of War*, *upon the Commoners of* England, and the Business is done. To Conclude, What is the Upshot of all this Libelling Contest, but to set up a *Popular Faction*, under Colour of Opposing a *Popish Successor*, and at the Instance of a Pragmaticall Club of *Mutineeres*, to put Three Kingdoms again in a Flame, for the Rosting of their *Eggs*?

The End.